

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 11119

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF JULY 19, 1978
(SALT TWO-1813)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 19, 1978

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES IT ADVISABLE TO POINT OUT THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON AN IMPORTANT AND STILL UNRESOLVED ISSUE--THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES. THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION BY THE DELEGATIONS FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, ALTHOUGH FOR CERTAIN REASONS THIS QUESTION REMAINS IN A FROZEN STATE, AS IT WERE.

OBVIOUSLY, IN WORKING OUT THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES THE TASK IS ACCURATELY TO EMBODY, IN APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE FOR INCLUSION IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT, THE UNDERSTANDING ON CRUISE MISSILES REACHED EARLIER, AND TO ENSURE CONFIDENCE THAT THE LIMITATIONS

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BEING ESTABLISHED WITH RESPECT TO THESE ARMS ARE STRICTLY COMPLIED WITH BY THE SIDES.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD, THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED--AND THIS IS REFLECTED IN THE JOINT TEXT AS OF JULY 6, 1978--THAT CRUISE MISSILES ARE ANY SELF-PROPELLED, GUIDED MISSILES WHICH SUSTAIN FLIGHT

THROUGH THE USE OF AERODYNAMIC LIFT OVER MOST OF THEIR FLIGHT PATH.

THIS DEFINITION PROVIDES THE SIDES WITH AN IDENTICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE SUBJECT OF LIMITATIONS IN THE AREA UNDER CONSIDERATION, ENSURES THAT THE SYSTEMS SUBJECT TO LIMITATIONS ARE FULLY ENCOMPASSED, AND PRECLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF SUBJECTIVE INTERPRETATIONS OR MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

COMPARISON OF THE PROPOSALS TABLED BY THE SIDES ON THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES ATTESTS TO THE FACT THAT AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AN AREA OF SUBSTANTIAL COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS HAS EMERGED; THIS PROVIDES A BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS. BUT, SOME DIFFERENCES ALSO REMAIN.

THUS, FOR THE REASONS CITED, IT APPEARS SUPERFLUOUS TO INTRODUCE THE WORD "UNMANNED" INTO THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES.

THE SOVIET SIDE ALSO PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT IN WORKING OUT A DEFINITION FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, THERE MUST BE A SINGLE APPROACH, NAMELY--ALL CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS ARE SUBJECT TO THE RELEVANT
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LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED FOR BOTH SIDES. ANY KIND OF FRACTIONATION OR ATTEMPTS AT ARTIFICIALLY CONTRIVED CLASSIFICATIONS OF CRUISE MISSILES CAN ONLY CONFUSE THE ENTIRE ISSUE, INTER ALIA FROM THE STANDPOINT OF VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH RELEVANT OBLIGATIONS BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT THE USE IN THE U.S. PROPOSAL OF THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES AS "WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES" IS INAPPROPRIATE, SINCE THIS COULD BECOME A SOURCE OF AMBIGUITIES AND IN FACT LEAD TO SOME CRUISE MISSILES OF APPROPRIATE RANGE BEING LEFT OUTSIDE THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED. BUT THIS WOULD NOT BE IN ACCORD WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED FOR THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

I MUST ALSO CONFIRM AGAIN THAT THE SOVIET SIDE CATEGORICALLY REJECTS A PROVISION ENVISAGING DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE LIMITATION OF CRUISE MISSILES WITH NUCLEAR WARHEADS AND OF THOSE WITH NON-NUCLEAR WARHEADS, AS BEING INCONSISTENT WITH THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING

BETWEEN THE SIDES AND COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE. THIS POSITION OF PRINCIPLE IS RECORDED IN THE FOOTNOTE TO ARTICLE III OF THE PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY.

DELETION FROM THE JOINT DRAFT OF SUBPARAGRAPHS (A) AND (B) OF THE U.S. DRAFT AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE III OF THE DRAFT PROTOCOL WOULD MAKE THIS FOOTNOTE OF OURS SUPERFLUOUS AS WELL.

THE USSR DELEGATION FURTHER BELIEVES THAT THE

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DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES, AS WELL AS THE DEFINITION OF THEIR RANGE, MUST BE CONTAINED IN THE TREATY, SPECIFICALLY IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, WHERE THE DEFINITIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS BEING LIMITED ARE CONCENTRATED, AND NOT IN THE PROTOCOL. AFTER ALL, LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES ARE PROVIDED FOR BOTH IN THE TREATY AND IN THE PROTOCOL THERETO. BUT THE DURATIONS OF THESE DOCUMENTS ARE DIFFERENT, AND PLACING THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES IN THE PROTOCOL WHICH, AS COMPARED TO THE TREATY, HAS A SHORTER DURATION, WOULD INJECT AN ELEMENT OF UNCERTAINTY INTO THE SYSTEM OF LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES UNDER THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT, AND THEREFORE IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE DOCUMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES IT ADVISABLE TO CONTINUE CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION OF THE DEFINITION

OF CRUISE MISSILES IN THE DRAFTING GROUP AS WELL.

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